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THE IMPACT OF WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT ON HOUSEHOLDS AND FAMILY LIFE

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The Impact of Women's Employment on Households and Family Life

Much has been written on the changing roles of women in recent years. But while conceptualizations on women's roles underscore the complex interrelationships between and among multi-level changes in economic and social structures, household conditions, and women's activities, data and other methodological limitations constrain research to focus on only a few aspects of these relationships at a time. On the whole, research has tended to focus more on the factors influencing women's entry and participation in male activity domains, and particularly, in paid labor activities outside of the home. This research focus on the determinants of women's labor force activity appears to have been prompted by the need to look into the factors accounting for the recent increases in female employment in many Asian countries, and especially, in East and Southeast Asia where these increases have been most remarkable. It may also have been prompted by the general sentiment that women's participation in economic activities is in itself a good thing, so that research on its determinants could feed into the formulation of policies that would encourage women's entry into paid work.

Considerably less systematic attention has been given the consequences of women's employment on households and family life, although it may precisely be in this area where knowledge may contribute to better informed policy options on the integration of women in economic activities, and in the development process in general. First, given the persistence of traditional sex-role ideologies that give pre-eminence to women's domestic roles, development planners may continue to doubt the wisdom of more vigorously promoting women's outside employment owing to anticipated disruptive effects of this on child care, husband-wife relations, and the general household welfare. Hence, the need for empirically grounded information on the household impacts of women's employment. Second, it is argued that the enhancement of women's status requires not only measures that address their economic or income-earning roles but also those intended to minimize women's displacement from work, or those meant to increase productivity in occupations with large concentrations of female workers. The enhancement of women's status also requires understanding of the impact of women's economic activity on intra-household relations and situations, to better identify the kinds of social support that would allow women to gain their rightful share of economic and other socially productive activities.

The little attention given the micro-level or household consequences of women's employment is partly a consequence of the conceptual and methodological difficulties in disentangling cause and effect relationships in the analysis of women's employment and household conditions.[1] But because women's income-earning activities are closely intertwined with the activities they do at home, current research, though oriented

towards investigating the determinants and the changing nature of women's employment, has inevitably touched on their household conditions. It is the purpose of this paper to draw from and highlight the existing findings on the implications of women's labor force activity for their households and families. In particular, it focuses on the housheold impacts of women's absorption into modern-sector occupations where the conditions of work--e.g. away from home, at regular hours, with cash earnings, and under more bureaucratic structures--represent a break from their traditional involvement as workers on family farms and other family-owned enterprises. Various formulations relating socio-economic change processes and sex roles suggest that the large-scale entry of women into modern sector employment would force certain alterations in gender relations, and in the manner in which workplace as well as homes are organized.[2]

Trends in Women's Employment

To appreciate the magnitudes and significance of Asian women's employment, a brief review of current trends may be appropriate at this point. With the exception of the newly industrializing countries of the region (S. Korea, Taiwan, Hongkong and Singapore), agriculture claims the higher proportion of economically active women in most countries, although the pursuit of industrialization goals by Asian countries indicate the non-agricultural sectors to be the growth employment poles for both men and women. The selected female labor force statistics presented in Table 1 provide some indication of how women's entry into modern sector jobs has been proceeding. First, data on the female labor

force participation rates (Table 1a) in the urban areas of East and Southeast Asian countries show urban female activity rates to range from 27.7% in Indonesia to a high 54.5% in Thailand. The urban female participation rate in Thailand, as well as those of Hongkong, Singapore, and Malaysia exhibit levels (over 44%) comparable to observed female activity rates in industrialized countries; and while those of Taiwan, the Philippines and Indonesia are lower, their current levels show improvements over those reported for earlier years (26.7% in Taiwan in 1970; 33.7% in the Philippines in 1970; and 25.5% in Indonesia in 1971). Second, women are also shown to hold substantial shares of total urban employment (Table 1b) in many countries of the region. Women hold over two-fifths of all urban jobs in Thailand, over a third in Singapore, the Philippines, Hongkong, and Taiwan, and over a fourth of all urban jobs in Indonesia. Finally, data on the percentage female in the non-agricultural workforce show women to have made substantial inroads in three non-agricultural sectors: namely, manufacturing, trade, and services work (although it should be noted that women's involvement in trade is of long standing in Southeast Asian countries). The figures shown in Table 1c show the percentage female of the manufacturing workforce in the Asian countries to be generally higher than that of industrialized countries, where women constitute a lower 26 to 37% of the manufacturing workforce. The proportions female in trade (generally over 30%) and services industries (also over 30%) in the Asian countries are likewise comparable to the proportions female observed in the West. It is only in the areas of financing, insurance and business services, and

Table 1. Selected female labor force statistics, East and Southeast Asian countries, and some Western countries.

A. Labor Force Participation Rates for Females in Urban Areas

East and Southeast		Western Countries	
South Korea (1970)	26.3	Japan	44.0
Taiwan (1974)	28.1	Australia (1980)	44.7
Hongkong (1976)	45.4	USA (1970)	41.4
Singapore (1980)	44.2	France (1975)	42.6
Malaysia (1979)	45.0		
Thailand (1979)	54.5		
Philippines (1980)	36.0		
Indonesia (1980)	27.7		

B. Women's Share of Total Urban Employment

South Korea (1970)	40.1
Taiwan (1981)	34.0
Hongkong (1970)	33.7
Singapore (1980)	34.4
Malaysia (1970)	26.2
Thailand (1979)	42.4
Philippines (1975)	37.6
Indonesia (1980)	28.8

C. Females as % of Workforce in Non-agricultural Industries

East and Southeast Asia	Manuf.	Const.	Trade	Transp. & Commu.	Financing Insu., Bus. Service	Comm. Social Personal Services
Republic of Korea	38.1	4.9	48.2	10.0	24.2	32.2
Taiwan	42.3	8.4	36.8	13.2	36.4	40.5
Hongkong	46.1	5.9	25.9	8.5	31.4	38.5
Singapore	40.4	9.2	30.3	14.9	36.4	34.2
Malaysia (Peninsular)	29.0	7.1	18.1	4.2	-	29.7
Thailand	50.2	11.1	52.0	5.0	-	40.0
Philippines	46.9	1.4	57.6	4.9	-	61.0
Indonesia	42.2	3.1	47.5	1.7	15.5	31.8
Western Countries						
Japan	36.5	13.2	44.7	12.3	45.1	43.2
Australia	25.7	5.0	41.8	15.6	43.5	49.5
U.S.A	30.4	6.2	44.5	24.5	52.9	56.1

Source: Jones, Gavin. Economic growth and changing female employment structure in the city of Southeast and EastAsia. Paper presented at the Conference on Women in the Urban and Industrial Workforce of Southeast and East Asia, Manila 1982.

in transport, storage and communications work that the shares of Western women exceed those of their Asian counterparts. Expectedly however, in the NIC's of the region, the proportions female in these latter sectors also come close to approximating those of Western countries.

This is not to imply that the status of Asian women with regards employment is now similar to the status of women workers in the West. Outside of the aforementioned comparabilities in the proportions of employed women in various non-agricultural sectors, the nature and conditions of women's work even in designated "modern-sector" occupations differ considerably in Asian and Western countries. Asian and Western country-differences in cultures are well known, and so are other country differences in the levels and processes of socio-economic development that condition the nature of emerging occupations for women. Hence, in contrast to the more formal and organized trade and services activities of Western women for instance, substantial proportions of the Asian women engaged in trade are found in small-scale and itinerant buy-and-sell operations; while many of those in services are domestic helpers in better-off homes. Similarly, there are indications that the export-led growth strategies of Asian countries translate to the payment of lower wages, the grantingof fewer benefits, and the institutionalization of less than satisfactory working conditions for Asian women,[3] when compared to the wages and conditions of female manufacturing/industrial work in Western countries. Nonetheless, the pursuit of export oriented industrialization policies by Asian countries may be expected to continue to

shape the nature of modern jobs available to the region's women; which in turn, may differ not only from the modern jobs of Western women, but also from the traditional economic activities that women in Asia have been doing. The manufacture of garments, electronic components, shoes, toys and other goods as a consequence of export promotion account for increasing proportions of female employment in Asian countries with no strong cultural barriers on women's employment (e.g. Thailand and the Philippines); as well as in Taiwan and Indonesia with more salient cultural restrictions on women's participation in wage employment.

The Household Impacts of Women's Modern Sector Employment

Information on the household impacts of women's paid employment may be drawn from the findings of various women-related studies, and a few other studies that focused on the topic. Particularly useful are those that have looked into the demographic effects of women's employment, and the household determinants of women's labor force participation. A review of these findings shows Asian women's employment in modern sector jobs to have had important consequences on household welfare and other aspects of family organization.

Demographic Impacts. The early studies on the demographic impacts of Asian women's employment, undertaken in the 1960s out of a concern of the growing imbalance of population and economic growth rates, generally yielded insufficient evidence to support the contention that wives' employment results in fewer children. This absence of a

systematic relationship between women's employment and fertility in Asian and other Third World countries was attributed to the slow absorption of women in modern sector jobs, and their continued employment in traditional farm and family work that made it convenient for them to attend to both economic activity and housework.[4] However, the results of studies that analyzed family size by the nature of women's jobs (as against the simple labor market status of wives) were more in line with expectations, and showed relatively clear-cut differences in the number of children borne by women engaged in modern work, when compared to those in traditional occupations, or to those out of the labor force. Illustrating these employment-related fertility differentials are the results of the analysis of the 1978 World Fertility Survey data for several Asian countries.[5] With the exception of Pakistan, Table 2 shows women in non-family work to consistently have fewer children than women in family work, or those not in the labor force. Further, the observed fertility differentials among women in the different employment categories are shown to persist even after controlling for women's education, household incomes and other characteristics that tend to confound the female employment-fertility relationship. Women's employment in modern sector work is found to significantly reduce family size in S. Korea, Malaysia, the Philippines, Bangladesh and Sri-Lanka, but particularly so in Indonesia, where women in modern sector work bear between 1 to 2 children less than non-working wives.

Table 2: Adjusted and unadjusted mean number of children by wife's employment status.

Country	Unadjusted			Adjusted for all Other Variables		
	No Work	Family Work	Non-family Work	No Work	Family Work	Non-family Work
South Korea	4.9	5.3	4.3	5.3	5.0	4.5*
Malaysia	6.1	5.8	5.6	6.2	5.5	5.6*
Thailand	5.0	5.5	4.7	5.5	5.3	5.0
Philippines	6.8	6.2	5.9	6.7	6.1	6.0*
Indonesia	6.3	4.7	4.6	6.1	4.8	4.5**
Bangladesh	6.5	5.6	5.2	6.5	5.7	5.4*
Pakistan	7.0	6.6	6.9	7.0	6.6	6.9
Sri Lanka	5.4	5.4	4.6	5.4	5.2	4.4*

Source: The Socio-economic determinants of human fertility. The Population Division, United Nations 1980.

*significant at .05

**significant at .01

Women's modern sector work has also been reported to make independent contributions to the delays in the age at marriage in some Asian countries, thus contributing to further potential reductions in family size. But recent studies of women workers in Free Trade Zones in the Philippines, Indonesia, and Taiwan report that the women workers' isolation from their families (many being migrants from rural areas) sometimes leads them to early unions or formal marriages.[6] Further analysis of

their actual fertility performance and family size expectations however, show them to have and to expect significantly fewer children than comparable groups in the female population. These findings from recent studies on Asian female manufacturing workers also generally lend credence to the depressing effect of women's modern sector work on marital fertility.

To sum up, the demographic effects of Asian women's employment are in keeping with the role-conflict and the new household economics conceptualizations of women's paid employment as creating hiatuses in women's domestic and income-earning roles, leading them to restrict their number of children. Expectedly, the extent to which this has occurred differs from among the countries of the region, but as in the West, the large-scale entry of women into market work is most likely to contribute to declines in family size. In turn, the reduction in family size holds several positive implications for women and their households, the more obvious of which is the reduction in women's childcare and other housework burdens. Also widely acknowledged are other benefits in the areas of children's health and education, as well as other improvements in household economic ocnditions that come with fewer children and women's market employment.

The Contributions of Employed Wives to Household Cash Incomes.

It is frequently pointed out that women's contributions to national and household economies are undervalued owing to the non-monetization of housework and of women's income-substituting or "production-for consumption" activities. But even when women engage in directly

income-producing activities, their contributions remain underestimated. As in the West, where women's labor contributions to the expansion of textile and other factories in the early stages of industrialization went largely unrecognized,[7] little mention is presently made of Asian women's contributions to national incomes despite their countries' increasing reliance on export/manufacturing industries that depend on female labor. Similarly, within households, the prevailing notion that women's employment is undertaken only to augment family incomes has created the impression that women's incomes are secondary to their husbands'.

Available evidence however would tend to suggest otherwise, or that at least in many instances, women's employment are not simply ancillary sources of household incomes. In assessing women's economic contributions, it is important to take note of findings showing the level of household income to be the most important predictor of women's employment.[8] The poorer the household, the more likely that wives will work, and the longer time they will devote to market activities. And because employed wives tend to come from poorer households (either as a result of the low wages or the unemployment of husbands and other household members), their cash earnings tend to constitute a major portion of their household's income. In female-headed households of course, their contributions are even more crucial as women become their families' sole source of economic support after the death of, or their separation from husbands.

Some indication of the magnitudes of employed women's contributions to total household cash incomes is provided by a status of women survey in the Philippines.[9] Consistent with other study findings, the husbands of employed women in the survey report earning lower wages than the husbands of non-working wives. Further, a comparison of household income sources by wife's employment status (Table 3a) shows the households of employed wives to have more limited sources of income than those of housewives. First, compared to non-working wives, there are more employed wives whose husbands are presently out of work; second, there are also fewer of them who have children who are working; and third, there are fewer of them with other capital sources of income. Once in the labor force however, Table 3b shows the employed wives' earnings to substantially raise average household monthly incomes from ₱820 to ₱1,365,[10] with the husbands' earnings contributing 46.7%, and the wives', a comparable 45% of total household income. While the wives' employment substantially raises their households' incomes, it is to be noted that their households' income levels would have been lower than the current levels observed for the households of non-working wives, had not these women entered employment. It appears therefore that whereas in the aggregate, women command lower wages in the market than men, at the individual household level, their cash earnings come very close to approximating their own husbands' contributions to household incomes.

Other case studies also offer qualitative information on the use and significance of women's earnings in households. A study of female manufacturing workers in a rural subdistrict of Central Java

Table 3. The sources of HH cash incomes and the % contribution of employed household members and other non-wage sources to total HH incomes by wives' labor market status: Urban households, Philippines.

	HH's Housewives N = 466	HH's Employed Wives N =473
A. % of HH's		
with husbands working	88.4%	87.3%
with children working	13.3%	9.3%
with non-wage sources of income	23.8%	17.3%
B. Mean % Contribution of HH Members to Total HH Income		
husbands	78.8%	46.7%
wives	-	45.0%
children	8.1%	3.5%
non-wage sources	12.9%	4.5%
Total	99.8%*	99.7%*
C. Mean Monthly HH Incomes	820.73	1,365.41

*does not add up to 100% because of rounding errors.

Source: Miralao, Virginia A. Women-in-development 3-Region Survey. Institute of Philippine Culture, Ateneo de Manila University, 1983.

for instance, show the women workers (many of whom were single girls from poor households) to contribute cash earnings that are used to buy food, kerosene, soap and other essentials of the households.[11] In relatively better-off Singapore homes, the incomes of many working wives are shown to be used or saved for eventually buying or replacing household

furniture and appliances, or the family's own flat, in addition to helping support siblings and aging parents.[12] Still other accounts report women's cash earnings to go into the education of children or their transfer to better quality schools.[13] Hence, whereas women's earnings in poorer households are crucial in meeting the household's survival needs, their earnings also spell the difference in the attainment or maintenance of improved living conditions or more comfortable lifestyles in many other households.

Maternal Roles. Since the responsibility for children rests mainly with mothers, the mother's involvement in market activity is widely acknowledged to influence the welfare of children. It is also perhaps in the area of child care and mothering, that many fear adverse consequences of women's employment.

On the whole, the expectation that women's employment adversely affects mother's time at child care is supported by time allocation studies, showing employed mothers to devote substantially less time to household activities (childcare included) than full-time housewives. The Philippine status of women survey that specifically looked into the time that mothers with young children (0 to 6 years old) spend at child care found employed mothers to devote about 11 hours less to child care per week than nonworking mothers. Such reductions in employed mothers' child care time may be of particular concern in countries with continuous patterns of female employment (e.g., the Philippines, Thailand, and Malaysia), and with no available child care services. In many other

countries however, as in the NIC's of the region, the burden of child rearing in fact curtails women's market activities, causing many working wives to drop out of the labor force in the peak childbearing years or in the early stages of family formation.[14]

In the area of children's nutrition and health, a household nutritional study in a southern city in the Philippines reports mothers' employment to have countervailing effects on children's nutrition, and for these to differ by social class.[15] In poor income households, mother's employment is seen to result in greater Vitamin A deficiencies among children, owing to the reduction in employed mothers' time in preparing vegetable and Vitamin A-rich dishes for children. Also because of time constraints, the incidence of breastfeeding, as well as of attending nutritional classes and community well-baby clinics is substantially lower among employed mothers than among non-working ones. Other things being equal however, protein and calorie intakes are higher among children of employed than non-working mothers, since the employed mother's income apparently goes to the purchase of foods with these other nutrients. Moreover, the adverse consequences of mother's employment on children's Vitamin A intake and breastfeeding that are noted among lower-income groups, do not hold true in middle-income ones--suggesting again that the employed mother's income is effectively used to buy substitutes for her own milk or other people's services in the preparation of food for the hosuehold. Finally, other evidence do not reveal the reduction in employed mothers' time at child care to necessarily translate to the deteriorating health of children. The Philippine status of women

survey for example shows that given the same levels of household incomes, mother's education, family size, and other characteristics, the incidence of illness among children aged 0 to 6 is still significantly lower among children of employed wives than those of non-working wives.

With regards children's schooling, data from the same status of women survey in the Philippines reveal no relationship between mothers' labor market status and children's enrollment in primary or elementary grades, where attendance in school is close to universal. But at higher educational levels, there are noticeable differences in the proportions of children in high school and college in favor of those with employed mothers. Similar to the relationship between mothers' employment and children's health, employed mothers are shown to contribute to the higher education of their children primarily through their income contributions which then enable their families to afford the expenses for higher schooling. Other than the possible adverse consequence of mother's employment in the care of very young children then, women's employment is shown to positively influence the health and education of children. These findings are also generally in accord with earlier results showing women's income from work to contribute substantially to the upliftment of families' socio-economic conditions.

Housework Management and Household Decision-Making. Presented in this final section are research findings taken primarily from the Philippines Status of Women Survey on the effects of women's employment on the conduct of housework and their participation in household decision-making. Since women's market work is known to reduce their time at

housework, of interest is the extent to which their employment effects a transfer of housework to other family members. And since household decision-making on matters pertaining to food and children's needs are generally within women's domain, of concern is whether women's employment increases their participation in "male" decision-making areas, as in those matters pertaining to household expenditures and other financial (e.g. savings, loans, investments) decisions of the household. Information on these is expected to provide some indications of the changes in women's traditional area of domestic responsibility once they enter marketwork. It is also expected to provide a useful complement on other information regarding the changes that occur in workplaces as a consequence of women's entry into market activities.

Table 4 presents the average number of hours that Filipino employed and non-working wives devote to housework per week, along with their respective husbands' time inputs to similar housework activities. Consistent with expectations, wives are shown to devote much more time to housework than husbands'; and within wives' employment status groups, for employed wives to devote much less time to housework than non-working wives. Examination of the detailed time allocation data further reveals the reduction in the employed wives' domestic time inputs to occur in all areas of housework from dish washing, cooking, food preparation and cleaning to child care. On the other hand, husbands' time in housework remains little affected by the employment of wives (those with employed wives spending only an hour more on housework than husbands of non-working wives), indicating no effective transfer of housework

to husbands. Interestingly however, the husbands of employed wives are found to participate in a greater variety of housework (e.g. marketing, cooking, dishwashing, child care), whereas husbands of non-working wives tend to restrict their housework participation in the "male" tasks of house and appliance repairs and water collection (a male task in the Philippines). The survey data further show fewer of the households with employed wives to engage in house and appliance repairs and in water collection; indicating that perhaps the households with working wives are better able to install piped-in water in their homes, build sturdier houses, or buy new appliances that render the above "male tasks" less necessary in their households. To the extent therefore that the households of employed wives are better equipped with household amenities, leading husbands to spend time in the more "female" tasks of marketing, cooking, and the like, the housework assistance of husbands may be of greater importance than is presently reflected in the absolute number of hours they devote to housework. Much more qualitative information however is needed to look into these arrangements and to assess men's involvement in housework when their wives enter marketwork.

Table 4. Wives' and husbands' time (hrs./wk.) in housework and marketwork: HH's of employed and non-working wives: Urban households, Philippines

	HH's with only husband in marketwork		HH's with both spouses in marketwork	
	Wives	Husbands	Wives	Husbands
Housework	46.7	14.7	29.7	15.6
Marketwork	0.0	49.0	47.2	50.8
All work	46.7	63.7	76.9	66.4

Source: Miralao, Virginia A. Women-in-development 3-Region survey, Institute of Philippine Culture, Ateneo de Manila University, 1983.

At this point, it should be mentioned that while the participation of husbands in housework is considered an essential element of sexual egalitarianism, the issue has been largely ignored in many Asian countries, given the common notion that relatives and domestic helpers are easily available to deload employed mothers of housework. But while case studies report some employed mothers to receive badly needed child care and housekeeping assistance from relatives, time-use studies (which readily reflect employed mothers' double doses of work) indicate the number of employed mothers with access to parents or other relatives to be a minority. Similarly, employed mothers with domestic helpers are found to constitute less than a fifth of urban employed wives in Taiwan and the Philippines, and for these to be limited to a few middle-income households.[16] Hence the participation of husbands (and children) in housework can assume greater significance in deloading women's work burdens, in the same way that other measures as the provision of basic necessities to households (e.g.piped-in-water in homes) and affordable home technologies can do much to reduce women's household chores.

Finally, findings on household decision-making patterns in the Philippines generally reveal wives and husbands to participate jointly and equally in household decisions, although some amount of gender-typing is noted in certain areas of decision-making.[17] On the whole, wives are found more dominant in decisions pertaining to food, the acquisition of household durables, clothing expenditures, savings, and children's education, whereas husbands are more dominant in matters related to house repairs, construction, and renovation expenses, loans, investments and

the number of children couples are to have. Certain differences however emerge when decision-making patterns are examined in households where the wife is employed and in those where she is not. In decision areas tilting towards female dominance as those mentioned above, there are fewer employed than non-working wives making the decisions dominantly or solely on their own. In the "male" decision-making areas on the other hand, there are also fewer husbands of employed women (than husbands of non-working wives) making the decisions dominantly or solely by themselves. Consequently, the proportions of households exhibiting jointand equal decision patterns is generally higher among those of employed than non-working wives. Further analysis also indicates the positive influence of women's employment on their decision-making roles to hold true particularly in the male area of loan decisions, after introducing controls for levels of household income, the age and education of wives, and other factors that may influence women's decision-making powers within the household. As in the analysis of the spouses' participation in housework therefore, there are indications that the employment of women may reduce the gender-typing of household decision-making areas.

Summary and Conclusions

Given the increasing absorption of women in non-agricultural activities, this paper set out to review study findings bearing on the household consequences of women's modern sector employment. Such household consequences may be indicative of the broader types of changes that

may occur with the larger scale entry of women into market work; and may also be useful in the identification of the kinds of social support that would encourage women's entry and stay in the labor force.

The foregoing review indicates women's employment to have many beneficial effects on households. The depressing effect of women's modern-sector work on family size, demonstrated by data from several Asian countries, is generally acknowledged to be beneficial not only in terms of the demographic concerns of national governments, but more immediately in terms of the well-being of children and the general economic conditions of households. The employment of women is shown likewise to be of crucial importance in the economic support of families, in view of the limited incomes of households that are insufficient in meeting the requirements for living, or in enabling families to improve on their economic conditions. Women's cash earnings are variously shown to go into the purchase of food and basic essentials, and other household durables, although the positive impact of women's employment on children's health and nutrition and education may best illustrate the long-term significance of women's earnings in improving the welfare of hosueholds. In the area of housework and household decision-making, women's employment is not found to bring about dramatic changes in women's and men's roles in the home. With the possible exception of the few women who are able to afford domestic help, and others fortunate enough to have access to other relatives, employed women continue to carry the prime responsibility for housework. Nonetheless, thereare indications that women's employment may promote some gender-crossing in housework activities and

household decision-making. However, to those concerned with the issue of sexual equality, these changes may be far from substantial. On the other hand, to those steeped in their traditional sex-role images, changes showing the husbands of employed women to participate more in "female" designated household tasks and decision-areas, and the employed wives to participate more in male decision-areas may already be more than they may want to admit.

The adverse consequences of women's employment are more apparent in the reduced time that employed women devote to the care of young children, and to the well-being of the mothers themselves. Faced with their dual domestic and income-earning roles, employed mothers are forced into a continuously balancing act of cutting down on child care and housework to meet the demands of marketwork; curtailing their market activities to attend to family responsibilities; and foregoing rest and leisure to meet home and market demands. Though attention has been called many times to women's double burdens, little has been done to address the issue. Yet there are areas within the direct influence of policy where supportive programs for women may be instituted. With regards women's employment, mention has been made of the need to correct gender wage-differentials and improve on women's wages so that women need not spend unnecessarily long hours in the market. In addition, the provision of piped-in-water and other basic facilities to households, the promotion of efficient and affordable cooking stoves and other home technologies, as well as of cheap but sanitary and nutritious food services (e.g. street foods) can provide much needed assistance to employed wives. But since many

other household services currently performed by women cannot be traded in the market nor met by institutionalized services, no less important are other efforts that would encourage husbands to share in child care and housekeeping, and to recognize women's employment not only as part of the family's strategy for survival, but as an essential component in women's own development. Without these kinds of support, we would only have succeeded in giving women two jobs to do under very trying conditions.

NOTES

[1]These problems are apparent for instance in the analyses of the female-employment-fertility relationship where women's employment may be a function of large family sizes though it may also lead to a reduction in family size. Similarly, the association between women's employemnt and levels of household incomes reveal women's employment to be a function of limited household incomes, but for women's income from work to also raise household incomes.

[2]The concept of role conflict that has been used widely to analyze women's changing roles suggests the employment of women as entailing adjustments, with women minimizing their involvement in traditional wife-mother roles; other feminist views also argue that that the industrial mode of production will erode the existing sexual division of labor and the organization of work and households: See articles in Rosaldo, Michelle Zimbalist and L. Lamphere, eds. "Women, Culture and Society", Stanford University Press, 1974; and in Schelegel, Alice, ed. "Toward a Theory of Sexual Stratification", Columbia University Press, 1977.

[3]The poor working conditions and other exploitative practices in female manufacturing industries are described in , among others, "Changing Role of S. E. Asian Women: The Global Assembly Line and the Social Manipulators of Women on the Job". Pacific Research Vol. 9 (5-6) 1978, and Lim, Linda Y. C. "Women Workers in Multinational Corporations: The Case of the Electronics Industry in Malaysia and Singapore". Michigan Occasional Papers No. IX, 1978.

[4]Concepcion, Mercedes. "Female Labor Force Participation and Fertility". International Labour Review 109(5-6), 1974.

[5]In "The Socio-economic Determinants of Human Fertility". The Population Division, UN 1980.

[6]See Zosa-Feranil, Imelda. "Female Employemnt and the Family: A Case Study of the Bataan Export Processing Zone"; Chang, Yu-Hsia L. "Women, Work and the Family in a Developing Society: Taiwan"; Papers presented at the Conference on Women in the Urban and Industrial Workforce: Southeast and East Asia, Manila, 1982.

[7]O'Brien, Leslie. "The Effect of Industrialization on Women: Western and Current Southeast Asian Experiences"; and T.G. McGee. "Women Workers or Working Women? Some Preliminary Thoughts on the Proletarianization Process in the Export Processing Zones of Southeast and East Asia". Papers presented at the Conference on Women in the Urban and Industrial Workforce: Southeast and East Asia, Manila, 1982.

[8]Krishna, Raj. "Women and Development Planning: with Special Reference to Asia and the Pacific:. Paper prepared for the Asian-Pacific Development Centre, Kuala Lumpur, 1982.

[9]Miralao, Virginia A. "Women in Development 3-Region Survey". Institute of Philippine Culture, Ateneo de Manila University.

[10] in 1981 at the time of the survey, the exchange rate was equal to about ₱9.00 to US$1.00.

[11] Wolf, Diane. "Rural Females to the Factory: Household and Village Perspectives from Central Java". Paper presented at the Conference on the Women in the Urban and Industrial Workforce: Southeast and East Asia, Manila, 1982. Though Wolf says that the young girls' wages are not sufficient to fully cover their own maintenance, their wages assure their families a constant source of cash.

[12] Salaff, Janet and Aline Wong. "Women's Work, Factory, Family and Social Class in an Industrializing Order:, Paper presented at the Conference on the Women in the Urban and Industrial Workforce: Southeast and East Asia, Manila , 1982.

[13] Miralao, Virginia A. ibid.

[14] Jones, Gavin. "Economic Growth and Changing Female Employment Structure in the Cities of Southeast and East Asia". Paper presented at the Conference on the Women in the Urban and Industrial Workforce: Southeast and East Asia, Manila, 1982.

[15] Popkin, Barry. "Women, Work and Child Welfare". Paper read at the International Center for Research on Women Workshop on "Women in Poverty: What Do We Know?" Elkridge, Md. 1978.

[16] Chang, Yu-Hsia A. ibid.

[17] These patterns are also discussed in Castillo, Gelia "The Filipino Woman as Manpower: The Image and the Empirical Reality". Council for Asian Manpower Studies, University of the Philippines. 1976.